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THE PHILIPPINES SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY¹

THIS paper is not intended to be an exhaustive treatise of events in the Philippine Islands since the convening of the first Philippine legislature in 1907, but aims to offer only a few comments and suggestions. Throughout I have sedulously endeavored not to dogmatize, for the period covered is too close for a well-rounded study, and much of the history of these brief nine years marks a decided departure from the preceding three centuries of Philippine history before 1898, and it is too early to risk one's reputation as a prophet. I have consciously tried to be conservative, and have hesitated to form hard and fast judgments, for there is much prejudice and passion intermingled in the whole Philippine question among the various factions, both American and Filipino.

Obviously, present tendencies in the Philippines can be understood more clearly if something be known of the past history of the archipelago; or in other words, the present-day Filipino, with his new opportunities, can be understood better if something be known of the Filipino of bygone centuries. Racial characteristics are, on the whole, fairly stable and tend to persist, and this has been so in the Philippines to a remarkable degree. The peoples who migrated in successive waves to the islands later to be called the Philippines were of Malayan stock, though, doubtless, at the periods of migration there were already admixtures of other bloods of the Asiatic mainland and islands. For convenience, although it might not be absolutely correct, the Malayan peoples of the Philippine group, with the greater or less Negrito or aboriginal mixture, might be called the Philippine stock. At best, the nomenclature that must yet be employed in respect to the Philippine peoples is awkward. The term "Filipino" is used rightly when speaking of the descendants of the eight peoples who were Christianized by the Spaniards. They are, in general, almost as distinct in race as are the Romance nations, but present-day tendencies are rapidly breaking down racial barriers, and the trend is toward a homogeneous people. The Moros, who are Mohammedans, and the so-called wild or pagan peoples, who live chiefly in Luzon and Mindanao, are called non-

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Christians. However, the tendency is toward a simpler and more exact terminology, and the day is approaching when the term "Filipino" will include all the Malayan peoples in the archipelago.

Three distinct lines of influence—not necessarily of blood mixture—have acted upon the Philippine stock. These have proceeded from China, from Spain, and from the United States. The impress of each is plainly visible, although that of the Chinese, who were the first great teachers, is perhaps the hardest to grasp, for it was more intimate, being Oriental, and tended to a less divergence from the original stock, while those of the Spaniards and Americans are Occidental and dynamic. The Spanish contact, which was limited largely to the Filipino proper, has been very far-reaching, for it has given to an Oriental population many Occidental qualities. Most important of all, Spanish contact has produced a Christian population—a unique achievement—although on the mass of the common people Christianity has been an overlay on the old native superstitions and beliefs. At the same time Spanish contact has performed a valuable service in preserving the native peoples of the Philippine Islands. The last influence—that of the United States—seems to be making for control and stability, with a consequent increased power in meeting the conditions of modern life. To an unexampled degree, the United States is carrying forward an evolution first started by Spain—an evolution that is not only political but social and economic as well.

While it is true, as no less an authority than the eminent Spanish-Filipino mestizo, Dr. Pardo de Tavera, says, that the Filipinos have reached their present state with less self-initiative than most other peoples, still they possess certain traits that seem to have been unchanged for so long that they may safely be called racial characteristics, and these must be taken into account in any contact with them. For instance, their idealistic temperament seems to be innate, although Christianity has probably tended to foster it. They are precocious when young, adaptable, and easily influenced, this last a factor which led to their rapid Christianization, but which sometimes made them the prey of impudent impostors. They revere age, respect customs, are apt at times to be revengeful, and as strongly as the Chinese, have an instinct for "saving their face". They are exceedingly sensitive to criticism, and have a vanity coupled with a wonderful self-assurance that might be mistaken for experience. They are hospitable to a degree, pleasure-loving, poetic, often impractical, lavish spenders, fond of display. The masses are full of superstitions and all the people readily become

suspicious. They are more easily led than forced. The slavish obedience which the masses formerly gave to their chiefs when the Spaniards first lifted the veil that hid them from the West, is the source of what is called *caciqueism*—which simply means “bossism”—and this last is a factor which must be reckoned with in their political life of to-day.

It is premised, of course, that the Filipinos are a civilized people, although in the farthest outlying districts the civilization is not of so high a type as in the metropolis and in the more accessible provinces. Society from very olden times, however, was marked off sharply into two classes—an upper and a lower, or those who ruled and those who obeyed. Spanish control did not tend to change this to any great extent, although even in Spanish days the insistent attacks of modern ideas were beginning to make inroads and to presage the formation of a public opinion. To-day, the system of the upper class—*ilustrados*—and of the masses—*gente baja*—is seeing the real entrance of a third class—a great middle class—from which unquestionably, if it be allowed to persist, will come power and stability. Among the Filipinos are many cultivated ladies and gentlemen, whom it is a delight to know and to number among one's friends. The judgment of many of them can be accepted unreservedly. Of the common people, it is safe to say that no future generation, if the present norm be maintained, will present the same dense ignorance in many directions as have the generations which are now passing from the stage.

When the outbreak of hostilities with Spain led the United States into the Philippines, the Filipinos were found to be quite thoroughly touched with the leaven of discontent against existing conditions. It cannot be said that that discontent has entirely vanished. The Tagalog people, the dominant race of the island of Luzon, are, of all the races of the archipelago, perhaps the most restless. The insurrection against Spain under their leadership became a fiercer revolt against the United States. Agitation has been constant in one form or another since the quelling of the revolt.

The Filipinos, at the opening of the twentieth century, were practically without any adequate previous legislative training. The several periods of readjustment in Spain and its colonies during the first part of the nineteenth century, when participation in the Spanish Cortes was granted to Filipinos, found them, quite naturally, unfitted and, on the whole, unwilling to exercise the duties thrust upon them. Their political training was limited in general to

closely-supervised semi-participation in municipal or provincial government. Educational instruction, moreover, in the closing days of Spanish control, notwithstanding the brave showing made on paper, was limited largely to the people of the upper classes. Some Spaniards had, indeed, recognized the needs of the Philippines. Sinibaldo de Mas, Spanish plenipotentiary to China, who was ordered to investigate and to make a special report on the Philippines, advised secretly that special legislative training be given to Filipinos, in order to provide quietly for Spanish withdrawal. The report was pigeonholed. It must be remembered always that the ecclesiastical power was generally strong enough throughout Spain's control of the Philippines to block any measure not considered advisable by the religious orders.

With the entrance of the United States, the whole scene was changed. In accordance with American ideals, a freer government was instituted, and almost immediately Filipinos were given a share in their own control, a policy that has been adhered to in an ever-increasing degree. State and religion were dissociated, but it was found in many localities that both people and clergy had to be educated up to the change. Educational measures were taken even when the Filipinos were in arms against the new government, and these had almost instant response from the people.

Counting the military government and its successor, the civil government under the Philippine Commission, as marking one period, there have been two full periods since the United States assumed control of the Philippine Islands, and now a third period has begun. The second period, with which this paper is mainly concerned, extended from October 16, 1907, to October 16, 1916, exactly nine years.

The events leading up to the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly are too well known to require any extended review. The pacification of the archipelago had so well progressed under the constructive military government and its successor, the civil government, that Congress, in the "Organic Act" of 1902 for the temporary government of the Philippines, provided for a popular assembly, to be called the Philippine Assembly. This was to constitute the lower house of the Philippine legislature, and to be chosen by a general election two years after the publication of a census of the Philippine Islands. The census was published in 1905. The general election—the first in the history of the Philippines—was held on July 30, 1907. The eighty delegates, who were elected on a population basis and by a restricted franchise, con-

sisted of six parties, namely, thirty-two Nacionalistas, four Independistas, seven Inmediatistas, sixteen Progresistas, twenty Independents, and one Centro-Católico. Only two of these parties, the Nacionalistas and the Progresistas, have survived. There was some fraud in the election and a number of contested seats. Thirty-four provinces participated in the election, the city of Manila, although in some respects governed like the city of Washington, being regarded in elections as a province and having the franchise.

With the convening of the Philippine legislature, October 16, 1907, the Philippine Commission, which until that time had been the sole law-making power, acting by and under the authority of Congress, became the upper house of the legislature for all legislation affecting the thirty-four provinces voting for delegates to the assembly. With regard to the Moro Province and the other non-Christian provinces, the commission continued to exercise exclusive jurisdiction. Tenure of office in the assembly was at first two years, but this was later extended to four years. The regular sessions of the legislature, which were to be held annually, were not to exceed ninety working days. Special sessions might not exceed thirty days. The Organic Act provided also for the biennial election (later made quadrennial) by the two houses of the Philippine legislature, each house voting separately, of two resident commissioners to the United States. In Washington, these commissioners were given seats on the floor of the House with privilege of debate, but no vote.

After the convening of the first legislature, the machinery of government, with the addition of the Philippine Assembly, remained practically as before. The executive powers were vested in a governor-general, who was appointed by the President of the United States and, as president of the Philippine Commission, also had legislative powers. Four of the members of the commission, in addition to the governor-general, were secretaries at the head of executive departments. The other members had no portfolio. On the governor-general directly depended certain bureaus of the government, while the other bureaus and officers, in number about twenty-five, were under the four commissioners with portfolio. The departments were those of Public Instruction, the secretary of which was also vice-governor, the Interior, Justice and Finance, and Commerce and Police. The commission held both executive and legislative sessions. The lower house possessed powers analogous to those of the House of Representatives. The judiciary was composed of a supreme court, with both original and appellate jurisdiction, the members of which were appointed by the President of the

United States; courts of first instance, the judges of which were appointed by the governor-general; and courts of justices of the peace. Final legislative authority lay, of course, in Congress, and final judicial authority in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Each province was in charge of a governor, who was elected by the voters of his province. He was aided by a provincial board of three, including himself. The second member of the board was the provincial treasurer, but this official has quite recently been replaced by an elective member. The third member was at first appointed by the governor-general, but was later elected. Municipalities, which correspond more nearly to our townships than to towns, were governed by a president, vice-president, and municipal council. The city of Manila had a special charter, with mayor and municipal council.

This in brief was the governmental machinery during the period especially under discussion. The policy of the United States was from the first one of Filipinization. Prior to 1907 the commission was composed partly of Filipinos. For several years prior to 1913, when Filipinos were granted a majority of the members of the commission, there had been four Filipinos in that body. The first Filipino with portfolio was appointed in 1908. The assembly has from the beginning been solidly Filipino. The supreme court is composed of seven justices, of whom three, including the chief justice, are Filipinos. There have always been very few provincial and municipal officials other than Filipinos. On opening the Philippine legislature on October 16, 1907, Mr. Taft, then secretary of war, said:

The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As the policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the Islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantages to the islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed.

No later announcement of policy has gone beyond this. General Smith, the then governor-general, on the same day, said:

On the Philippine Assembly, more than on any other branch of the Philippine Government, depends the future of the Philippine Islands, and on the energy, the earnestness, the devotion to duty, the self-sacrifice, the unselfishness, and above all things, the entire conservatism and sane judgment of its members, depends the realization of the hopes and the ideals of the Filipino people. If this Assembly fails of its purpose, the peoples who have looked to it to demonstrate their capacity to legislate

wisely and well will have just reason to regret that the high privilege of participating in the making of the laws to govern themselves was ever conceded. If, on the other hand, success attends it, and all the circumstances considered, the product of its labors compares not unfavorably with that of other legislative bodies, no names will shine brighter on the pages of Philippine history than those of the members of the first Philippine Assembly.

Naturally, there was considerable doubt among Americans as to the wisdom of the establishment of the Philippine Assembly. Some thought, and still think, that its creation was premature; others that its creation at all was poor policy. European nations, with colonies in the Orient, from self-interest have not been enthusiastic. There are, however, two great justifications for the creation of the assembly: namely, that it was in keeping with American ideals and traditions to allow as much self-government as possible; and that experience is the best teacher. The only valid objections that could be raised to it, if American ideas were to prevail, were the prospect of loss of efficiency in government, and the fear of treasonable plots against the sovereignty of the United States. The loss in efficiency of government, and it is conceivable that there has been some, has been more than offset by the effect on the country at large, for the assembly has undoubtedly cemented the different peoples into a more homogeneous unit, thus tending to make legislation universal instead of sectional. The fear of conspiracy has not been unduly realized. There has been extremely little of the "Woe to the conquered" spirit from Americans, and the slogan "The Philippines for the Filipinos" has been real. The two chief political parties in the United States have differed on the rapidity with which Filipinization should take place. Neither party has subscribed to the objection raised by a few persons that too free a hand has been allowed to people who have recently been in active revolt against the United States.

On the whole the result has been better than the most ardent advocates of the measure had hoped. There has been no disaster. There has even been considerable constructive legislation. On the other hand, the lower house has considered and passed some immature and unwise measures, from the effects of which the Philippines have been saved either by the more mature members of the assembly or by the refusal of the Philippine Commission to concur in the recommendations of the lower house.

The possession of a popular assembly has tended to increase Filipino vanity, which has never been small. An extremely sensi-

tive people, they have keenly resented any imputation that the science of government is not as well understood in the Philippines as in any other country. The period, less than two decades, since the cessation of Spanish control, has been sufficient for this adaptable people to take on the trappings of government in a remarkable manner. The greater solidity must come only with many years of experience. It is extremely doubtful whether any Oriental people with as little previous training could have done as well. Of course it is true that a free rein has not been given. The result might have been different without the constant American supervision, suggestion, and help. Pressure has been exerted by the governor-general and by the Philippine Commission, and legislation in the Philippine Assembly has been suggested and guided by bureau chiefs and others. In the end, all the acts of the legislature were reviewable by the Congress of the United States, and although Congress has not invalidated any act of the Philippine legislature, the power to do so has constituted a check.

Yet, though the assembly at times felt the whip from above, it sometimes refused to dance. Three successive times the legislature failed to pass the annual budget, because the assembly would not agree to the terms proposed by the commission. A notable deadlock between the two houses occurred over the election of one of the resident commissioners to the United States. The irrigation measure was held up for at least two sessions. From the first, the assembly went on record as desiring political independence, and many bills, resolutions, and petitions were drawn up in regard to it.

Educational measures always received hearty support. Indeed, the first bill passed by the assembly was for the establishment of schools. On the other hand, the assembly was always suspicious of the civil service, and repeatedly attempted to cripple its working. Suspicion also rested on the constabulary or insular police and on the health propaganda. The system of public improvements, especially of roads and bridges, was on the whole well supported. Agricultural measures, including those for the campaigns against animal diseases and locusts, were adopted. An agricultural bank was established in 1908, but it never had the full effect expected, because many of the farmers who applied for loans could not prove clear titles to their lands. The sugar industry was aided by an appropriation for a sugar-testing laboratory. Other laws sought to establish the Manila hemp and tobacco industries on a better basis. Regulations for the creation and operation of rural agricultural societies were made. Regulations of agencies recruiting labor for the sugar

plantations of Hawaii were made, for labor has never been abundant in the archipelago. To the credit of the legislature, there were also an employers' liability act, a pure food and drug act, more drastic than that of any country, and an act directed against fraudulent advertising, and these laws have been well administered. Insurance was regulated by another law.

There were very few bureaus or offices that the assembly did not attempt to reorganize. It had a freer hand, perhaps, in those of agriculture, health, and lands. The bureau of labor was always composed entirely of Filipinos. Attacks were insistent against all the other bureaus on the pretext of extravagance, or that the personnel was not being Filipinized rapidly enough, or on other grounds.

With the change of administration in 1913, the grant of increased power in the Philippine Commission, so that the Filipinos for the first time had a majority in that body, brought about a greater rapprochement of the commission and assembly. For this reason, the three years following October, 1913, saw more constructive legislation than any other period of like duration, although it remains yet to see the wisdom of much that was done. The two most far-reaching acts of the legislature in this period were the establishment of a Philippine National Bank, with a capital stock of \$10,000,000, of which \$5,050,000 were to be subscribed for by the government; and the purchase by the government of the Manila Railway Company. The old agricultural bank has been absorbed by the Philippine National Bank, to which wide powers have been granted. The opposition Filipino press has not failed to complain that although the arguments in favor of the enactment of the bank act enumerated the benefits to be obtained by Filipinos, yet the first loan of the new institution was made to an American corporation, while Filipinos who desire loans cannot secure them. The purchase of the railroads has been criticized by the same press as an unjustifiable extravagance and as mortgaging the resources of the government for many years to come; and these critics ask what advantage has been gained if the road is to be leased to a private company. Moreover, it has been charged that the purchase was made in the interest of British stockholders who could no longer raise the necessary money to run the road.

After 1913, Filipinization of the more responsible government positions was more rapid than previously. In 1916, nine bureaus had Filipino directors, and in almost all branches of the government Filipinos displaced Americans who were either discharged or

who resigned on request or voluntarily. As might be expected, there has been a consistent Filipino demand for the positions held by Americans. The charge of the disorganization of the civil service after 1913 is partly borne out. Undoubtedly, however, a number of the separations or forced resignations were justifiable. The number of Americans in the government service was, and is, being decreased by the operation of a pension act passed in 1916 after its annual recommendation for over a half-dozen years.

There was little healthy party life in the assembly. The Nacionalistas always formed the majority and the Progresistas the minority, but there was no sharply drawn line of division. Several years ago, a faction of the Nacionalistas, styling itself the "Tercero Partido" or Third Party, split from the parent stem, and tried to enroll the labor vote, acting partly as an independent party. However, since all the parties were united, in one form or another, in their demands for political independence from the United States, and since the independence campaign was made the most important part of political life, it is easily understood that there was little ground for actual and radical difference.

Notwithstanding the Filipino majority in the commission after 1913, the governor-general continued to exert considerable influence on legislation. This was due in large part to the fact that the Filipinos of all parties considered the Democratic victory in Washington as a distinct political gain for the Philippines. The Filipino members of the commission frequently acted with most commendable restraint, although considerable pressure was brought to bear from the assembly or from private sources. The two houses were not always in accord and this opposition between the two bodies tended to increase as the first glamor of a new administration wore away.

In the commission acting in its legislative capacity for the non-Christians, no act has been more important for its bearing on the future than that in 1914 reorganizing the Moro Province into the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. By this act the military governor of the old Moro Province was superseded by a civil governor with wide powers. It should be noted that this district was in charge of a sub-governor for part of the period of Spanish control, so that the change is not an entirely new departure. The success that has been obtained is in large part owing to the tact and ability of the present governor, who had been the executive secretary in Manila for a number of years. His has not been an easy task, namely, to bring a restless and suspicious Mohammedan popula-

tion into peaceful relations with the Christian Filipinos. It is too early to speak of results as lasting, but an evolution, built partly upon previous American efforts and some Filipino co-operation, seems to have been started. The religious barrier is one that is not easily overcome.

In the Mountain Province in Luzon, very decided progress was made during the nine years after 1907. The building of trails and other improvements begun some years before was continued. The effect of these improvements and of other measures adopted by the government has been striking. The old tribal and community feuds are being forgotten and head-hunting is becoming obsolete. This has required tactful work by the men placed in charge of these peoples. It is due to these men that the various tribes are trading quietly together, are moving along the mountain trails without weapons, are building the trails themselves, and perhaps most remarkable of all, that symbolism is taking the place of century-long custom. These wild men are fine, strong peoples, and if they can be assimilated with the Filipinos, will prove an important element of strength. They, as well as the Moros, are not entirely without suspicion of their Christian neighbors, who as opportunity has offered in the past have not been averse to exploiting them.

Some years ago Filipinos, smarting under the fact that exhibitions in the United States of wild people from the Mountain Province (who are not Filipinos at all) caused many Americans to believe that all the inhabitants of the Philippines (including the Filipinos) are a race of naked, uncivilized savages, urged the government to discourage the taking of wild people abroad for exhibition purposes. For the same reason, ethnological work among these people was discontinued, and this is a decided loss. The ban was also placed on printing and exhibiting pictures of "wild people" unless they were properly clad, lest they be taken for Filipinos. Some Filipinos as well started a campaign to induce the wild people to wear the usual garments of civilization. This whole matter might seem ridiculous, but to the Filipino, who is sensitive to a degree, and who moreover is not quite sure of himself, it is very serious. One good result is beginning to appear. The Filipino is acquiring some missionary spirit and is trying to give the non-Christians the opportunities which he himself enjoys under the American régime, and which he hopes some day to enjoy under his own government. The movement is a thoroughly selfish one; the Filipinos are in it for what they can get out of it; but there is a seriousness in it that augurs well. Great care must be exercised, for one serious error

may jeopardize the relations between the Filipinos and their "wild" neighbors.

In the provincial and municipal governments, the tendency has been toward a greater degree of local self-government. The provincial council, for instance, is now entirely elective. Half the established taxes of the provinces accrue to the provincial treasuries. Any province may remit its half, but the fifty per cent. belonging to the central government must be collected. Since such remission means a practically empty treasury, few provinces have exercised this privilege. The central government found it necessary in the case of the municipalities to limit the amount of municipal funds that might be spent on salaries, for most of the municipalities found themselves with very small balances or no balance at all after the official salaries had been paid, a condition that boded ill for public improvements. In both provinces and municipalities, suspension from office has tended to decrease. The most frequent cause for arrest and suspension of officials has been abuse of authority and neglect of duty. There has been some misappropriation of public funds and some other crimes, but on the whole not so much as might have been expected. Since the fee system has been done away with, and a regular salary paid to the justices of the peace, there has been less trouble with these officials, who have been among the most frequent offenders.

The matter of government finances during the period under consideration constitutes an intricate subject, and little will be said of it here. It needs careful study, and might well be the subject of a doctoral thesis. The Philippine government is self-supporting. The United States pays only those expenses that are rightly its own, namely, those incurred by the army and navy in the Philippines, part of the expenses of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the Philippines, the salaries of the two resident commissioners to the United States and expenses incident thereto, and perhaps a few others. Most of the money required for government comes from some form of taxation. The per capita tax is low in comparison with that of most countries, being less than two dollars, though it shows a tendency to mount higher as the cost of government increases.

The two chief and most universal sources of taxation are the *cédula* or poll tax and the land tax. The first is an old Spanish form of taxation continued with some changes, and is imposed on all males between eighteen and fifty-five. Each full *cédula* costs one dollar annually, but the provinces may collect only one-half this amount if they elect, provided that there be no discrimination.

There was no land tax in Spanish times, that imposed by the Philippine Commission shortly after the establishment of civil government being the first one in the Philippines. It bears equally on rich and poor, this being one of the reasons for its imposition. Money has also been raised by the usual excise duties, by a stamp tax, by a questionable tax on business, which has tended to increase, and by rather stringent taxes on mineral output.

The other main sources of income have been customs duties on foreign imports, a questionable export duty (abolished by the Underwood Tariff Act), wharfage charges, and quite recently a tax on ship tonnage. The Payne Bill of 1909, granting free trade with the United States, stimulated business, but it was feared would decrease the revenues. However, the decrease did not occur immediately, largely because of rice importations made necessary because of short crops. Since the beginning of the present war, an internal revenue emergency measure has sought to supply any decrease in customs receipts.

Insular government receipts and expenditures in 1915 were little short of \$14,000,000 each, with the balance on the safe side, but expenditures show a tendency to increase rather than to diminish, now that the first enthusiasm of a new administration to lessen expenditures has worn off. Cost of government in the Philippines is not excessive, but as the amount of possible revenue is limited by the economic development, chiefly agricultural, expenditures must be governed by this fact. In several instances there was an excess of expenditures over receipts, caused partly by extensive public improvements. Some unwise expenditure occurred during the period ending with the change of administration in 1913, chief of which was the continual drain incident to the building and repair of the road between the lowlands and the summer capital. Prudence should earlier have dictated the abandonment of a road which at every heavy rain was liable to partial or complete destruction, and the surveying of a new route. On the other hand, it is probable that the saving in salaries by the new administration and the rapid Filipinization of the higher offices carried with them some loss in efficiency. It seems also that the creation of a high-salaried public utilities commission might have been avoided; while, as above seen, the wisdom of the creation of a "national" bank and the purchase of the railroad have been seriously questioned even by Filipinos.

The volume of trade tended to increase. The operation of the Payne Act and the war made the Philippines more dependent commercially on the United States. The first months of the war quite

demoralized shipping and economic disaster threatened. But in 1915 so good was the recovery that the import and export trade of \$103,000,000 showed a trade balance of \$4,500,000 on the right side, though there is little doubt that the balance would have been reversed in normal times. In the Philippines themselves, there have been many opportunities for business, but American capital has been slow in investing, both because of the failure of Congress to establish a fixed policy, and because of the often hostile Filipino attitude toward outside capital. The reluctance was increased by the continued growth of the independence agitation. The Payne Act directed attention to the Philippines as a profitable source of investment, but with little result. It is an interesting commentary that the Chinese pay the largest part of the internal revenue, while both Filipinos and Spaniards precede the Americans, who pay less than half a million. Effectual incorporations show capital stock of about \$75,000,000, of which about \$40,000,000 is subscribed, and only about \$30,000,000 paid in. The best business men are the Chinese, who apparently "get" the business where men of other nationalities fail. Of later years there has been an insistent and increasing inroad of Japanese capital—a fact that has not tended to put to rest the fears that have been expressed in certain quarters regarding American-Japanese relations. Already the Japanese control much of the fisheries and the pearl fisheries, and have entered the sugar and timber fields quite extensively, besides other industries.

The full development of the Philippines was never a Spanish policy, and Filipinos were not encouraged to develop their own country to any great extent. Many Filipinos, lacking capital or initiative themselves, have looked askance at foreign capital, apparently being unwilling that others should reap where they themselves cannot or do not sow; though there are notable exceptions to this. Assertions of the Filipino press that Filipinos will welcome foreign capital have not been wholly able to remove the suspicion of investors. There is no doubt that American capital would have come forward, if at any time since 1902 Congress had declared that the American flag would stay in the Philippines, although Americans as a rule have not favored exploitation. The passage of the Jones Act may, indeed, prove a stimulus to the investment of American capital, but this seems rather remote in the face of possible Filipino restriction from a legislature composed wholly of Filipinos, and the fear of an imbroglio in the Far East.

The land question in the Philippines has always constituted a problem. There is an immense amount of public land, consisting

of agricultural, timber, and mining lands. Homesteads of about forty acres were allowed by the Organic Act of 1902, but recommendations were repeatedly made for an increase to about 125 acres, and for private purchase of about 1200 acres. A further recommendation was that corporations be allowed to purchase about 15,000 acres instead of the approximately 2500 provided by the Organic Act. There has been much confusion in land titles, and many squatters on public land. The cadastral survey and land registration are reducing the problem, but it still exists. Filipinos have not been homesteading as much as was expected, though there is a continual increase in this direction.

The friar lands, for the purchase of which \$7,000,000 worth of bonds had been issued, have formed a problem quite distinct from that of regular public lands. It was provided that the bonds with accrued interest be met from the sale of the lands. Unsold lands, consequently, continually increase in value by a false ratio, and, naturally, a point will be reached, is probably now reached, where such lands will not be sold so long as other and, in many cases, better land can be purchased more cheaply. These lands are not subject to the same conditions respecting sale as regular public lands, and may legally be sold in blocks of any size. The sale of the San José estate in Mindoro (about 59,000 acres), to a single purchaser, called forth an investigation by Congress in 1910 regarding the administration of these lands, in which the instigators, probably incited thereto by Filipinos who were hostile to foreign capital, tried to prove that such sales were illegal. Although the sale was declared valid, it became the policy of the administration to adhere more closely to conditions governing the sale of regular public land. There has been no tendency to create large landed estates, though, with all restriction removed, this might arise. The one pertinent fact in regard to all public land is that the Filipinos themselves have neglected its development and yet have often employed a dog-in-the-manger attitude toward foreigners who would develop it. Consequently, agricultural capital, which might have been employed under different conditions, has sought other outlets.

The agricultural problem was constant throughout the period. Agriculture must always remain the chief source of wealth of the Philippines, but it is still very backward, notwithstanding the many measures taken for its relief. The revolt against Spain and the United States, and animal diseases had reduced agriculture to a low ebb. It is slowly recovering, but only time can bring this vast source of wealth to anything like its due fruition. Native standards

are changing. Wants are multiplying. What was good enough for Juan's father is not good enough for Juan. This incentive is constituting a large factor in the development that is slowly beginning to appear. Tobacco, sugar, Manila hemp, and copra are increasingly being converted into the realization of present needs which but yesterday were luxuries. The Bureau of Agriculture has had to meet opposition from both farmer and political agitator. Its rinderpest campaign was fought strenuously by farmers who could not understand why their greatest aid in agriculture, the caribao, should be killed or placed in quarantine. It has been and is a fight of the individual against community interests. The criticism that the bureau's effort was too scientific and did not reach the small farmer, is partly true.

It remained for the Bureau of Education to employ very potent methods of reaching the people, through the school garden and the corn and other exhibits instituted throughout the islands. The Bureau of Agriculture utilized the "movies" to make demonstrations. By its system of grading and baling Manila hemp, the bureau placed the hemp industry on a basis where it bids fair to develop properly; and it is trying to do the same for tobacco. Strange as it may seem, insufficient rice is raised for home consumption and imports must be made at heavy expense. Locusts, rinderpest, and lack of sufficient irrigation coupled with the human factor account for this.

No factor since 1898 has been more important than that of education. The educational feature is, indeed, intertwined with every branch of American effort in the Philippines. No sooner was American occupation a fact than teachers were provided by detail from the volunteer soldiers. Teachers were also sent from the United States, and for the first time, Filipino children really began to receive the public instruction that had been so long decreed by special Spanish laws. The training of Filipino teachers was also immediately begun. The ideal of universal education has not yet been reached through lack of money, teachers, and equipment, but considerably over half the children of school age are receiving some school instruction. Teaching is wholly in English, not only because English is the language of the United States, but also because of the lack of a common native language. Largely because of this, English is more commonly used than Spanish ever was—a fact that is making for greater homogeneity. American teachers, aided by American-trained Filipino teachers, are molding the social

and political life of the future, for the older Spanish-trained generations are passing away.

An ever-increasing emphasis is laid on industrial training, the beneficial results of which are seen to-day in many homes, for not infrequently this school training is carried by the children directly to their parents. In every primary school, industrial work is coupled with the abc's, while at Manila and the provincial capitals trade schools have been established where various trades are taught, and where the marvellous manual dexterity of the Filipino is being developed. A school of household industries was established several years ago with excellent results for the purpose of teaching lace-making, embroidery, and other similar work to women as a means of livelihood.

Secondary education is provided by the high schools of the metropolis and provincial capitals, and higher education by the government university. The latter has, besides its academic department, schools of law, medicine, engineering, forestry, agriculture, art, and music. Primary and secondary education are also provided by numerous private and religious institutions, and university education by the Dominican University of Santo Tomás, the oldest university under the United States flag. All non-government institutions are now under direct government supervision, and recognition of their diplomas depends on their meeting government requirements.

The recreation factor in education has not been neglected. The play instinct has been carefully fostered. Athletics and clean sport were early introduced with excellent results, and American baseball has been an important element in training Filipino boys. Child-life has been immensely enriched by the greater variety made possible by the many games introduced, and a new note has undeniably been struck that will have its effect on the race of the future.

The Philippine Assembly sincerely supported the educational programme, although attempts to dictate and reorganize were not wanting. The number of Filipino teachers in responsible positions constantly increased but complaints of discrimination in favor of Americans were frequent. Pressure from assembly and people undoubtedly often had an effect, but there is a point beyond which it seems unsafe to go. There are over 8000 Filipino and less than 800 American teachers in the public schools. One of the encouraging features is the eagerness of the people for educational instruction. Filipino school children are more easily managed than Amer-

ican, but while they study faithfully, more so, generally, than the latter, they are said to possess less originality and initiative.

Two of the results of the new education seem to be a shifting of the viewpoint regarding the relation of the individual to the public and a greater sense of personal responsibility. This is helping to inculcate a general elevation of standards. But the total and lasting result here, as in all other phases of the new life in the Philippines, can be seen only after many years. Much seems to be promised if present conditions are substantially maintained.

A few words must be added about the Filipino campaign for political independence and the passing by Congress in 1916 of a new Organic Act. Along with the Philippines, the United States inherited the Filipino desire for independence. The military pacification did not stifle, but only changed the direction of that desire, which now assumed a political turn. Politicians, the direct descendants of the old *caciques*, were able to foster and increase the demand among the people, who on many occasions followed blindly their leaders. The abortive attempt at revolt by one Mandac in 1911 was followed with interest by Filipinos, but beyond a very few they hesitated to identify themselves with the uprising, which was local in character. But had Mandac's first stroke been successful, a serious revolt might have broken out, although many Filipinos in the large centres would not have joined the movement of their own free will. More insidious proved the attempted insurrection in 1914. This was incited through the efforts of one Ricarte, known as "The Viper", who lived in exile near Hong Kong, and who through agents worked on the more ignorant of the masses. Ricarte, who made a very substantial living out of the commissions which he sold in the army of liberation, probably never intended that an insurrection should break out at all. He had been pursuing the same course for years, and his movements were well known to the authorities. But this time the movement got away from him, and, at the last moment, broke out in Manila a week ahead of the scheduled time. The danger was minimized by the authorities, but it was a real danger, and the Philippines luckily escaped an insurrection that showed more careful planning than any of Ricarte's previous farces. Beyond these two slight outbursts the Philippines have had peace since the organization of local governments and the passing of the Organic Act of 1902.

The politician and the press acted in accord on the subject of political independence. Any Filipino who refused to move with the current was forthwith dubbed an Americanista and became unpopu-

lar. The matter unfortunately became involved with the question of Filipino capacity for self-government, and this gave rise to much bitter comment from Filipinos who naturally resented, because of their national sensitiveness, any imputation of inability to conduct a government. Thus in spite of the many warm friendships the political breach, which had never been completely closed, widened. The effect of this among the ignorant masses during the last few years was a growing sullenness.

American training has confessedly fostered the desire for independence, inasmuch as it has led constantly toward a greater Filipino participation in Philippine affairs. The discord that has appeared has been due to several causes, chief of which is perhaps the failure of each side to understand, or even to care to understand, the other. The American, who has fostered the Filipino desire for independence, has too often sneered at that very desire. The Filipino, who has too often neglected what lay next to hand, has failed to understand that there might be a question of the feasibility of complete Philippine independence. There has often been lack of real sympathy on both sides. The American's inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon temperament has made him wonder at times at the Filipino hesitancy to accept unreservedly measures that make for advance in every way, forgetting in his enthusiasm, which has been real and sincere, that one "can't hustle the East". For the Filipinos, notwithstanding their western connection, are still an Oriental blend.

There is no doubt that certain Filipinos at any time since American control, and the number has been constantly growing, could have organized a government. The only doubt is whether the Filipino people could successfully conduct that government once organized. The Filipino politician has nothing to learn from Americans. He knows the game. The vital question is whether there is enough of the quality that may be termed statesmanship to steer a nation safely through the quicksands and over the shoals of an independent government. There are some indications against it, but there are, on the other hand, a few men who have reached a higher level than that of the mere politician. The opportunity for a fuller testing has arrived with the passage of the Jones Act by which the Philippine Commission has been abolished and an elective Philippine senate created as the upper house of the Philippine legislature. There must be doubt, however, just so long as an American governor-general has the last word over legislation. The new régime is now in operation. The upper house is showing a tendency

to hold the lower house in check. One immense gain that may come is a healthy party life, which the Philippines have never had. It is to be observed that there is complaint from the opposition press that after all nothing new has been gained, toward ultimate independence, by the Jones Act. Yet, when there seemed a danger that Congress would pass the Clarke Amendment injected into the Hitchcock Bill in 1916, with its clause granting complete independence to the Philippines within two or four years, there went up a protest against it, and there was a veritable panic lest it become law, notwithstanding that those in power asserted their willingness to assume the new responsibilities if given, and the opposition asked that the bill be passed. This is only one of the many contradictions of the independence campaign. Neutralization, formerly the catchword of the politician, is seldom now heard. Belgium's fate has stifled that.

Will Filipinos, if given an opportunity, be permitted, even if they prove equal to the task, to develop their own country? I do not know. By their very location, they form an important centre in the New Pacific. If the United States withdraw, will there be any guarantee against the seizure of the islands by another nation? I am afraid not. I cannot believe that the Japanese government, notwithstanding certain utterances that have been heard in Japan, is desirous of annexing the Philippines, as Japanese interests lie rather to the north and northwest; but I am certain that Japanese interests would demand their occupation in case of withdrawal by the United States, if for no other reason than to forestall any other nation. I should be sorry to see this happen, for it would mean the loss of an American experiment which has attained valuable results and which, notwithstanding the political and anti-imperialistic diatribes against the sincerity of Americans, has been conducted not without honor.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.